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16 January 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Special Activities Division

SUBJECT : The Black Militant Threat to CIA

Pursuant to your request that the brief summation forwarded 8 November 1968, of this unit's estimate of the black militant threat to CIA, be reviewed and rewritten to reflect our estimate of current date, attached herewith is the revised memorandum. As with the original treatise, the opinions were deduced principally from information already known and reviewed by this section and does not purport to be an in-depth study.


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THE BLACK MILITANT THREAT TO CIA

Source Materials obtained from Government agencies at local, state, and federal levels, as well as from the media (including samplings of the underground press) do not indicate that CIA and/or its personnel and installations are considered at this time to be a primary or sole target by any of the numerous black militant organizations or by individual black activists.

This is not to suggest that there is little or no animus toward the Agency nor any threat to it, but only that there appears to be little closely identifiable black personally or organizationally held rancor. However, as CIA is a prominent segment of the "establishment" and, indeed, a most newsworthy one, the Agency is not without appeal as a target for the dissidents and subversives of many persuasions. To most of the militant blacks, however, it would seem to invite less antipathy and to be less vulnerable than are other examples of authority, regimentation, discrimination, and "repression" such as the military, the law enforcement agencies, and the educational hierarchy. As an organization to which the public, at least, attributes much influence on foreign policy, a close identification with the war in Vietnam, and a variety of domestic activities and relationships (the propriety of which they

hold to be moot at best), the Agency must expect a continued share of whatever level the anti-establishment activity reaches. It has been the subject of considerable diatribe and invective, both oral and written, but, to date, a minimum of actual violence to person or property. The situation remains fluid and, although extremist activity by dissident groups has been escalating, there are indications that a trend toward a stronger and firmer posture vis-a-vis these groups, is developing throughout much of the "establishment." Negro moderates, who represent a vast majority, are beginning to react and to fight back against the Negro militants. It is too early to delineate the affect the installation of the new, and more conservative, administration will have. Its election, at least partially, reflects the opinion of many of the American electorate, that the militants were going too far in Vietnam, in our educational institutions, and in the urban areas. It is possible that increased effort to maintain law and order will produce a counter-reaction of increased violent opposition.

Where the goals and objectives of blacks, individually, or in organization, tend to merge with or are collateral to those of other dissidents, their potential for effective action is amplified out of proportion to their numbers. Selection of CIA as a subject of, or a scapegoat for, harassment and even, perhaps, subversive

penetration, by black militant individuals and organizations can be deemed, in some cases, to be the result of foreign pressures, influence and support (psychological, physical, and financial). CIA is a priority target of many foreign services and governments and foreign contacts have been noted, both here and abroad. Additionally, much effort, some of it successful, is exercised in the black movement by such organizations as the Communist Party USA (Soviet), Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite), and the Progressive Labor Party (Maoist), which, although not themselves significantly black organizations, do have black activists in their membership and are known to attempt to control, direct, and utilize the essentially black organizations through multiple memberships as well as other means, be they overt, subtle, or devious.

A target of the "New Left," whether it be the radical elements who are oriented to press for complete displacement of our socio-economic and governmental system, or the liberal elements who generally desire reform in varying degrees and are willing to labor for change substantially within our existing perimeters, is the so-called "military-industrial" complex in which they deem CIA to be a flagrantly culpable example. So, too, does the "New Left" frequently aid, abet, and cooperate with the black militant movement. There is a trend in most dissident activist groups today, if

for no other reason than to develop greater strength for movement toward each one's own goal and to increase each group's membership, toward unification and mutual support and a general loose amalgamation of pacifist, civil rights, anti-discrimination, and student power groups. Thus, a working relationship develops between black, student, leftist, and anti-war/anti-draft groups. These coalitions are frequently tenuous at best and there are increased signs that the black extremist groups are hard-pressed to maintain for long any effective collaboration with other groups, either white or black. Mutuality of some interests does not usually suffice to support real control or domination by any one organization. The co-hesive force of the anti-Vietnam War movement has lost some of its strength and should the war be resolved, the dissidents would be sanded of their most viable target. The burning desires and apparent psychological need of black extremists to control their own and to dominate any activity in which they participate makes them difficult, if not strange, bed-fellows. The radical SDS organization has recently decided to shift emphasis from a primarily student movement to a revolutionary youth movement in order that they may expand their activities and increase their potential field for recruitment. They found student campus and race problems too limiting.

Efforts to lead black militants have in large measure failed in the past by the CPUSA to dominate such as have attempts to

moderate organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The leaders of the respective black organizations are constantly vying for personal and organizational power, not only within but between organizations; and, although even those organizations such as the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality, which were formerly deemed moderate and relatively conservative in scope, have become less so, there is still a wide gulf between the aims and methods espoused by ultra-extremist black nationalist groups and those by the more moderate ones. The latter were essentially oriented towards civil rights activity, bi-racial in membership, and willing to attain their goals (usually full integration and rights of citizenship) through affecting change within the system. Today's black extremists go so far as to advocate separatism, including a black nation within the boundaries of the U. S. A., and claim that revolution and racial warfare are both necessary and justified to attain their goals. Most also seem to visualize a destruction of capitalist democracy as a necessity.

Some black traditional moderates who appeared to be swinging toward more radical extremes - perhaps to counteract the seeming growth in power and influence of the extremists like Stokeley CARMICHAEL, H. Rap BROWN, and Eldridge CLEAVER -

now seem to acknowledge, although reluctantly, that their goals are not quickly attainable and that this evolution will take time. Although extremist groups are no less active, the majority of the black people lean toward a view of Black Power as a movement toward improved economic, cultural, and political status with attendant increased pride in their racial background.

CIA is a clearly visible target, attack upon which if effective, would not only produce headlines in bold print but would severely hamper CIA's efforts to accomplish its very important missions. There have been incidents - some of which may be at least partially attributable to black individuals or elements. Recruiters have been harassed, an office bombed, much vicious printed matter disseminated, and critical speeches made. In addition, it was recently rumored that an assassination attempt would be made in New York on three CIA Agents by members of the Black Panther Party, nothing has been disclosed to suggest that the incident was more than a "crank" call, but it does reflect that CIA is in the minds of dissident elements.

As of this time, among the more active, more volatile black organizations, and thus more threatening perhaps to the Agency posture, personnel and installations, are the following:

BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE (BPP)

This extremist black organization oriented to the philosophy of Che GUEVARA and Mao seems to be the fastest growing organization in recent months. Based in California with the bulk of its membership there it has chapters in a number of major cities. Reportedly a small chapter has organized in D. C. Its leaders preach revolution and destruction of our political economic system. Much of the current violent action nationally has been attributed probably justifiably to BPP which has allegedly acquired large amounts of arms and ammunition. Its "direct action" has influenced many young Negroes, particularly ghetto males. Leaders have had much contact with Castro's Cuba and other Anti-U. S. foreign elements. Currently it is reportedly beset by rivalry with other militant organizations, internal bickering, and disciplinary problems. A number of its leaders and much of its membership have criminal records. Eldridge CLEAVER is currently a fugitive. Huey NEWTON is serving a 2-15 year term. Bobby SEALE is on probation; etc. Violent confrontation with law enforcement representatives has become almost a daily occurrence. The Chairman of the Senate Internal Security

Subcommittee has described the BPP as influenced by the Communists through infiltration. Paradoxically, perhaps although the BPP has thrived on publicity, an East Coast leader recently was reputed to have said that the group, on a national scale, would be going "underground" in order to keep its activities quiet and secret.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION MOVEMENT (RAM)

Probably the most blatantly violent and extremist black power organization follows the Maoist line and advocates urban guerrilla warfare. Theoretical leader is Robert F. WILLIAMS - self exiled U. S. fugitive black, currently residing again in Peking after residences in Cuba, China, and Tunisia since 1961. Max STANFORD, ultra radical U. S. leader, is also associated with BPP. Many black extremists of other organizations seem to have at least peripheral connection with RAM. Several groups such as the BLACK LIBERATION FRONT (involved in the plot to dynamite the Statue of Liberty and Washington Monument) appear to be RAM front groups.

BLACK MUSLIMS. aka: Nation of Islam (NOI)

This black nationalist extremist group headquartered in Chicago and lead by Elijah POOLE, aka Elijah MUHAMMAD is probably the largest and best financed and is a nationwide organization. Preaching independence of blacks and interdependence between blacks.

it is strongly for black economic power and is not believed to be socialistic or communistic. NOI has participated to some extent in activities of other "black power" groups and Communist front activities but generally remains aloof. Occasionally the group's publications have been known to reprint articles from Chinese Communist Sources. Although many members have been recruited in prisons, NOI has achieved respectability of sorts by shrewdly using a shield of religion and insisting that its extremely well-disciplined members avoid radical disorder and live moderately. Cassius CLAY is probably its best known recruit of recent years. While professing not to be anti-white per se, the group is generally considered to be anti-white, anti-police and anti-government.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Since creation in 1960 as a nonviolent bi-racial civil rights organization, SNCC, under the leadership of Stokeley CARMICHAEL, followed by H. Rap BROWN, has evolved into a hate group motivated by a revolutionary direct-action, anti-white ideology that places no faith in democratic processes. It seems strongly anti-semitic and has established ties with foreign radical groups. It appears to be adhering to the "third world" concept which is more closely related to a Maoist-Castroite orientation than to the Soviet ideology. Several of its leaders have openly attacked the CIA in broadbrushed denunciations of the establishment. The FBI in its report for FY 1967.

charged that SNCC represents a serious threat to national security. SNCC is suffering financially and beset with internal bickering, and loss of prestige among blacks. It recently dissolved its brief association with the BPP and evicted H. Rap BROWN and Stokeley CARMICHAEL. Phil HUTCHINGS and James FOREMAN, SNCC's current leaders, are struggling to reestablish SNCC as a power and are seeking alliances with other black militant organizations.

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

One of the larger organizations, national in scope and founded in Chicago in 19 2 by militant socialist James FARMER and former CP member Bayard RUSTIN, and until recently headed by Floyd McKISSICK and now by Roy INNIS. It was originally considered one of the more moderate "civil rights organizations," but has gradually increased in militancy and has become more separatist, black supremacist, and ideologically aligned with the New Left. Although not cited by any federal agency or committee, its activities and many of its top personalities show distinct interrelationships with the Communist cause. In 1964 CORE distributed leaflets charging that "Mississippi has been taken over by the CIA and Federal Marshals."

BLACK LIBERATION ALLIANCE

As radically and revolutionary as CORE has moved, it was not far enough to satisfy some of its members and in October 1968.

a more militant group splintered off to form this organization which will seek to promote racial separatism, Black Nationalism, and the formation of a separate black nation within the U. S. A. A convention is scheduled for 18 January 1969 and at that time it will be more possible to assess the strength and character of this new organization:

BLACK REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRICA (RNA)

A movement for a separate Negro nation to be established in five southern states - spearheaded by the radical HENRY brothers (Milton and Richard) of Detroit. President (in exile) is Robert F. WILLIAMS. The HENRY brothers are leaders in the Malcolm X Society, named after the late Malcolm X, who had split with the Black Muslims. Advocates formation of a Black Liberation Army and other extremist positions.

US

A still small but militant black organization based in Los Angeles established on the principle of self respect, self defense, and self determination. Lead by Ron KARENGA, a very articulate and clever young Negro, whose statements are extreme. Reportedly, some disharmony has developed between the BPP and US organizations in L. A.

ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU)

The extremist black militant group, which has had various name changes that followed Malcolm X after his split with the Black

Muslims. His followers still surport to believe CLA wa responsible for his murddr in 1965. desoite all the evidence to the contrary including the arrest and conviction of three Negroes for the crime.

DEACONS FOR DEFENSE AND JUSTICE

A black power group organized in mid-61 in Arkansas has chapters throughout the U. S. The group surports to act as armed vigilantes to "defend" Negroes who are "under attack." Concept was first advanced by Maoist Robert F. WILLIAMS, who is a disciple of "meeting violence with violence." The chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has charged the group with being Communist infiltrated and having "accented disguised Communist assistance to a substantial degree." Ideologically, however, it appears to be closer to the Peking line than the orthodox Communist Party.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

Although not a Negro organization, this communist organization has a Black Liberation Commission headed by extremist William EPTON, and constantly exhorts the Negro to revolt. The PLP, openly Maoist, splintered from CPUSA in 1962, and played a strong role inciting violence during the Harlem riots. It is attempting to take over or control SDS.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

Basically a civil rights organization. It has connections with the CPUSA and CP sympathizers but has maintained a moderate posture and espoused non-violence but threatens use of minor civil disobedience as necessary. It is in a state of reappraisal and needs rebuilding after assassination of its leader Martin Luther KING, Jr. who was succeeded by Rev. Ralph D. ABERNATHY, and the relative lack of success of the highly publicized Poor People's Campaign in 1968. It is conjectural whether it can survive under its present leadership and staffing. Allegedly it plans a moderate approach in the future in view of the new administration and the country's more conservative mood.

BLACK STUDENT UNIONS (BSU)

These black student groups (bearing different names on some campuses) are not nationally affiliated or controlled yet ^{are} are autonomous. Members frequently are affiliated with other black extremist organizations. Articulate, demanding, and radical these students have been responsible for much of the current campus related unrest and disorder. Outrageous demands professed to be non-negotiable and supported by white sympathizers (faculty, students and non-students) and Third World Liberation Front (an amalgam of Blacks, Mexicans, Filipinos Chinese, Japanese, and Indian students) have made it possible for this relatively small percentage of dissidents to disrupt large universities and colleges.